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Article

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Writing the Present

Boniface II of Montferrat and Frederick II Hohenstaufen

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A curious thirteenth-century Occitan dialogue poem between two Italian troubadours, Joan d'Albuzon and Nicolet de Turin, presents a dream and its interpretation. In alternate stanzas, Joan claims to have dreamt of a terrifying eagle flying through the air and stirring up a great roaring wind, accompanied by a huge ship of fire sailing through the land from Cologne.¹ Nicolet in turn interprets the dream in terms of an emperor sweeping through Lombardy with a great army of German soldiers at his command, paid from his vast supply of treasure. Joan's dream concludes with a vision of the eagle blowing out the fire, shining a great light over Montferrat, and settling in a high eyrie from which the whole world, now joyful, can be surveyed. Nicolet expounds this as the emperor's desire for peace after vengeance, the Marquis of Montferrat's unduplicitous submission, the emperor's position of supreme command, and the prospect of appropriate rewards. Evidently, this would appear to be a piece of propaganda, but of what kind?² What was the relation between the two troubadours, their intended public, and the circumstances of poetic production? Is this simply a case of praising a potential patron in the hope of payment? Why should such a circumstantial piece have been preserved? And what does it have to do with writing history?

The poem, or song, is a *tenso*, one of a corpus of 158 surviving *tenso*s and *partimens* between real, as opposed to fictive, interlocutors, currently being edited for the Boydell Press.³ Joan d'Albuzon's datable poems fall between 1229 to c. 1240;⁴ Nicolet de Turin was a knight in the service of Count Geoffrey of Biandrate in c. 1220–25, for how long we do not know.⁵ In our piece he is addressed with the honorific *En* (Sir), while Joan is not, which suggests a difference of status.

The form of six stanzas of alternating speakers, followed by two *tornadas* or short concluding stanzas recapitulating the versification of the end of the preceding stanzas, is conventional for the genre. A *tenso's tornadas* will often contain an explicit appeal to one or more arbiters; here there is no such appeal, though there may be an implied one, namely to the emperor himself. Unlike the form, the dream scenario is unique in the corpus of Occitan *tenso's* and *partimens*. And unlike many examples of medieval literary dreams, this piece presents no awareness of dream theory, or of the potential ambiguity and dangers of dreams and their interpretations.⁶ The dream has a single, dogmatic, exegesis.

No-one has doubted that the emperor here is Frederick II Hohenstaufen, though its other allusions have been hitherto regarded as obscure. Schultz-Gora dubbed them 'obscure and contradictory' ('dunkel und widersprechend'), Bertoni 'precious, though rather obscure' ('Preziosa, sebbene alquanto oscura'); Bozzola referred to it in 1910 as

a singular poetic document of the time which, by the fact of being contemporary with the events it celebrates and so being written with absolute freshness of impression, has the merit of a truthfulness and immediacy which chronicles cannot always have [...], and whose obscurity of allusions and allegory does not prevent us affirming its complex sense.⁷

Our new edition sheds some light in purely linguistic terms. Other elements of obscurity prove to be the result of imperfect understanding of the historical circumstances. The question that then emerges is, what is the poem *for*? I will argue that it is intended to write history in the making. If, as Orwell claimed, 'He who controls the present, controls the past' and 'He who controls the past, controls the future', this poem seems to be a case of hoping to control the (immediate) future by (re)writing the present.

Here is an abbreviated version of our edition. The dialogue is preserved in a single fourteenth-century Italian manuscript, U.⁸ The only serious previous editions were those of Bertoni in 1915 and Crescini in 1926.⁹

I [Joan]

En Niccolet, d'un sognie qu'ieu sognava
 maravillios, una nuit qan dormia,
 voil m'esplanez, qe molt s'espaventava¹⁰
 4 tot lo seigles d'un aigla qe venia
 devers Salern su per l'aire volant,
 e tot qant es fugiea le denant,
 si c'al seu senz encauzava e prendia,
 8 c'om denant lei defendre no's poiria.

II [Nicolet]

Joan d'Albuçon, l'aigla demostrava
 l'emperador qe ven per Lombardia,
 e lo volar tant aut significava
 12 sa gran valor per qe ciascun fugia
 de tot aicels qe tort ni colpa li an,¹¹
 qe ja de lui defendre no's poiran
 terra ni oms ni altra ren qe sia,
 16 q'aisi com taing del tot segnor non sia.

III [Joan]

En Nicolet, tant grant aura menava
 aigest aigla qe tot qant es brugia,
 e una nau de Coloingna arivava,
 20 maiers asaz qe dir non o porria,
 plena de foc per terra navicant;
 e buffa'l foc l'aigla ab aura grant,
 si qe lo focs ardea e alumnavava
 24 vas totas parz la on l'aigla volava.

IV [Nicolet]

Joan, l'aigla qe tan fort[men] ventava
 el gran tesaur qe mena en Lombardia
 l'empeaire, e la naus qe[l] portava,
 28 es la granz ost dels Alamanz bandia,¹²
 a cui dera del [seu] gran tesaur tan
 qe l'ost fara per toz loc[s] son talan.
 E plaz mi fort qe'ls enemics castia;
 32 e qe'ls amics meillior e bon lur sia!

V [Joan]

En Niccolet, tot lo foc amorzava
 aqest'aigla, e un gran lum metea
 en Monferrat, qe tan fort esclarava
 36 qe lo segles per tut s'en esbaudeia,
 [e] mettia d'autre lum per locs tan
 qe tot qant es s'en annava allegran;
 puis l'aigla sus en l'aira s'asedea¹³
 40 en tant alt luoc qe tot lo mond vesia.

VI [Nicolet]

Joan, l'amorzament del foc semblava
 paiz, qe vorra l'empeaire aisi sia
 qan s'er ve[n]jaz, e lo lum demostrava
 44 qe l marqes ren Monferrat ses bausia;
 e li altri lum seran guierdon gran
 q'auran de lui sel q'aver lo deuran;
 e lo saiser dell'aire m singnifia
 48 qe l mond er pois toz a sa segnorìa.

VII [Joan]

A l'onrat ric emperador presan,
 En Niccolet, don Dieu forza e talan
 qe restauri valors e cortesia,
 52 si cum li creis lo poder chascun dia.

VIII [Nicolet]

Joan, tot ço conosc, qe ben esta n
 l'empeaire; per q'eu non vau dottan
 q'aisi com a del mond mielz em bailia,
 56 deu ben aver del prez la segnorìa.

Rejected readings: 2 qan] qan mi (+1), 3 mes paumentava, 7 prendria, 17 An, 24 totz; la on] laoue, 25 fortmen] fort (-1), 27 qe, 29 seu *om.* (-1), 30 loc, 32 e] A, 37 e *om.* (-1), 42 qaisi (+1), 43 serueiaz, qe mostraua 44 ren] rendea (+1), 48 apparently 'el' corrected to 'er'

Translation

- I [Joan] Sir Nicolet, I want you to expound to me a miraculous dream that I dreamt one night when I was asleep, for it filled the whole world with fear of an eagle that came flying through the air towards/from Salerno, and all creatures were fleeing before it, so that it was pursuing and capturing at will, as no-one could defend himself against it.
- II [Nicolet] Joan of Aubusson, the eagle designated the emperor who is making his way through Lombardy, and his flying so high indicated his great valour which was causing all who have done him wrong or injury to flee, for neither earth nor man nor any other creature will be able to prevent him becoming lord of all, as is right and proper.
- III [Joan] Sir Nicolet, that eagle was stirring up such a huge wind that everything in existence made a great roaring sound, and an indescribably enormous ship full of fire arrived sailing through the land from Cologne; and the eagle blew on the fire with a great breath so that the fire burned and shone light on all the places where the eagle was flying.
- IV [Nicolet] Joan, the eagle blowing so fiercely into the great treasure the emperor is bringing to Lombardy, and the ship carrying it, is the great army of the Germans summoned to military service, to which he will give so much of his huge treasure that the army will do his bidding everywhere. I am delighted that he is punishing his enemies; and may he be good to his allies and make them prosper!
- V [Joan] Sir Nicolet, this eagle blew out all the fire, and cast a great light over Montferrat which it lit up so brightly that the world grew utterly joyful at the sight, and it caused other light to shine elsewhere so that all existence became full of happiness; then the eagle settled in its eyrie in such a high position that it could see the whole world.
- VI [Nicolet] Joan, the blowing out of the fire represented peace, for the emperor will want this to occur once he has taken his revenge, and the light was demonstrating that the marquis is handing

over Montferrat without deceit; and the other lights will be great rewards he will give to those who ought to have it; and the siting of the eyrie signifies to me that the world will afterwards be entirely at his command.

VII [Joan] *God grant strength to the honoured, mighty, worthy emperor, Sir Nicolet, and the desire to restore worth and courtliness, just as He enhances his power day by day.*

VIII [Nicolet] *Joan, I recognise all this, for the emperor pursues this insistently; so I have no doubt that just as he best rules the world, so he must be lord of worth.*

So what were the historical circumstances? Schultz-Gora considered the piece could only have been composed in 1238 after the battle of Cortenuova, when almost the whole of Lombardy lay at Frederick's feet. He enters into no explanations, and his dating was accepted by Bozzola without further investigation.¹⁴ De Lollis subsequently placed it in c. 1226 on the basis of avowed guesswork, claiming there was nothing in the text to support Schultz's suggested date of 1238: 'Conjecture for conjecture, a date ten or twelve years earlier would seem more likely'.¹⁵ Torraca in 1895 proposed a date of c. 1236, on the grounds that our troubadours did not mention Frederick's victory at Cortenuova: the piece 'was foretelling the emperor's victory over all his enemies' ('Schultz thought the *tenso* was composed in 1238, when, that is, instead of making predictions and auguries, Nicolet and Joan would have been in a position to relate the defeat inflicted on the Lombards at Cortenuova').¹⁶ Seven years later Schultz-Gora summarily rejected De Lollis's dating and simply mentioned Torraca's without comment.¹⁷ In 1911-12 De Bartholomaeis dated it to 1231, on the basis of arguments he was to reiterate twenty years later.¹⁸ Here he focused on three circumstances which he sees mentioned in the text: 1) Frederick was on his way from southern Italy towards rebel Lombardy (a trajectory that depends on his interpretation of the word *devers* in line 5, see below); 2) an army assembled in Germany was heading for Italy; 3) Marquis Boniface II of Montferrat was fighting against the Emperor. This could only, he argued, date from summer or autumn 1231, when Frederick was making his way northwards along the Adriatic coast to a diet in Ravenna on All Saints Day, while an expedition of Germans under

his son Henry, King of the Romans, was heading south towards the Alps. De Bartholomaeis argues that it must fall before October, since at that time, at the congress of Bologna, delegates from Guelf cities were discussing resistance to Frederick and sending an army to block the passes at Trentino, which led to Henry being held up in the Tyrol, and Joan's 'dream' would not have been so confident once this happened.

Bertoni in 1915 agreed with De Bartholomaeis that Frederick was heading south to north: he noted that *devers* (5) is ambiguous, 'but since we have a "venia" (v. 4), the first sense is preferable to the second'.¹⁹ He also thought the *tenso* must pre-date the battle of Cortenuova in 1237, since in the poem Boniface still figures among Frederick's opponents and since the two troubadours predict Frederick's great power for the future rather than observe its existence in the present. He concluded that the piece probably dates before 1234 when Frederick went to Germany to punish his rebellious son Henry, but on the other hand that it was known that Frederick travelled down from northern Italy several times in 1231.²⁰ So he did not appear wholly convinced by the arguments which De Bartholomaeis had advanced earlier,²¹ and presents the more cautious dating of 1231-34. In his discussion of 1231 De Bartholomaeis does not refer to Bertoni.

Much hinges on the direction in which the emperor is supposed to be travelling. As Bertoni remarks, *devers* (v. 5) is ambiguous, since it can mean both 'from' and 'to'. It cannot therefore be used to determine Frederick's trajectory. But neither, however, can *venia* (v. 4), as Bertoni thought. It is hardly likely that Nicolet de Turin and Joan are anywhere but northern Italy, in other words in between Salerno (Frederick's Kingdom of Sicily) and Germany, so in whichever direction the Emperor was travelling, he was broadly speaking coming towards where the troubadours are.

Other circumstances that need to be taken into consideration are the evocation of Frederick's terrifying punitive power (vv. 3, 6-8, 12-13, 43, and especially 31), the specific mention of Cologne, the enormous treasure being used to finance and ensure the support of his German army (vv. 19, 26-30), and the fact that this is being transported by ship overland (21).

To situate the poem at the time when Frederick was on his way to Ravenna fails to explain the first of these elements (not to mention the others). Van Cleve reports that the emperor summoned the Diet

at Ravenna, on the advice of the pope, 'to restore the universal peace of the Empire and to dispose affairs in Italy to a state of prosperity and peace'. Obstacles to this 'peace' lay in Lombardy and Germany, not in the area of Italy to the south of Ravenna, and the Emperor only took a 'small following' to Ravenna.²² This does not tally with the idea of an all-powerful army sweeping menacingly through the land. Moreover it fails to explain why the marquis of Montferrat should have been the focus of attention in the poem.

More telling is the evocation of the vast treasure on its way from Cologne. In 1235 Cologne was the site of huge festivities, when Isabella, daughter of King Henry III of England, arrived in May with a dazzling trousseau, to spend six weeks there prior to her wedding with Frederick in Worms in July.²³ July in Worms also saw the abject submission of Frederick's son Henry, whom the Emperor humiliated, exiled and imprisoned.²⁴ Frederick then immediately prepared for a campaign against the Lombard League, collecting an army to cross the Alps. Masson reports that 'The gold of the empress's dowry was used to hire the knights and mercenaries who would constitute the hard core of the army, and the feudal armies of the princes were called up'.²⁵ This may be something of a simplification: this was no doubt not the emperor's only source of funds. The cash seems to have been paid in 30,000 silver marks rather than gold, a 'large, but not such large' sum according to Spufford,²⁶ and Henry III had considerable difficulty in collecting his daughter's dowry.²⁷ It nevertheless appears that the final instalment was on its way from England by 12 July 1237, and the fame of the wedding and dowry are likely to have made an impression on troubadours hoping to benefit from their fall-out. This would seem to offer a ready explanation of our two troubadours' reference to the ship from Cologne whose treasure commands the support of the German army and fans the flames of war. Rather than (or perhaps as well as) oneiric, the ship sailing overland, or 'through land', corresponds to practical reality. Situated at a central position on the Rhine, 'western Europe's largest internal waterway', Cologne had established long-distance trading ties since the eleventh century to not only southern and eastern Germany but also the north west and beyond, trading *inter alia* in Italian luxury goods.²⁸ The river was the obvious route for the treasure to take.

The reference to Frederick punishing his enemies resonates particularly with his imperious treatment of his rebellious son,

who was to remain a prisoner for the rest of his life. But not only that particular punishment. As soon as the Alps could be crossed the emperor marched south, arriving in Verona on 16 August. Shortly afterwards he sacked the town of Vicenza in exemplary fashion: Abulafia relates that he aimed 'to create a cloud of fear in north-eastern Italy in which the cities, aware that they could save themselves by abandoning the league, would avoid Vicenza's fate and ally with the emperor'. Returning to his northern kingdom when the autumn weather made further campaigning impossible, he was back in Lombardy the following September, when his campaign culminated in the zenith of his power as a consequence of the battle of Cortenuova in November 1237.²⁹ After Cortenuova, 'Frederick's propagandists went rapidly to work. They made sure that Cortenuova became prominent news in the European courts'.³⁰ The Lombard league began to dissolve; in January 1238 Frederick received the submission of Vigevano, Novara and Vercelli, and in February entered Piedmont, holding a diet in Turin in the second half of February where nobles of the region, including the marquis of Montferrat, paid him homage.³¹ It is noteworthy that according to Nicolet, the emperor is coming *per*, not *en*, Lombardy – in other words *through* it (compare Albert of Malaspina's mention of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras wandering *per Lombardia [...] a lei de crōi joglar*), which corresponds with his trajectory in 1237–38.³²

Since Turin is the home town of Nicolet, it is worth considering whether the *tenso* was composed there on this occasion.³³ The verb describing his handing over of Montferrat without deceit is in the present tense (*ren*, 44). Stanzas V–VI may be read as a celebration of this event. But would this mean the moment when Frederick arrived in Turin, or just before, when he was on his way? According to Rossi and Gabotto, on February 2 or earlier, when Frederick was still some distance from Turin, the city had already submitted to his authority through his representative.³⁴ Frederick soon afterwards arrived in Turin in person with the marquis of Montferrat at his side; from Turin, the emperor went on to Cuneo, then returned again to Turin in April with an entourage that included *inter alia* Boniface and count Guido of Biandrate, with whose family Nicolet is known to have been connected.

But why should the eagle of Joan's dream be flying towards Salerno? Montferrat is not neatly situated on a direct route from his Alpine crossing, or even from Cortenuova, to Salerno, lying as it

does to the west of his earlier victories in Lombardy. This in itself may not present a problem: if the idea that Frederick was moving from Germany towards his Sicilian kingdom in a broadly southward direction does not fit tidily with a modern mental image of a map of Europe, medieval people may have had a much vaguer sense of geography. In addition, the evocation of Frederick's southern kingdom resonates with his ambitions to be emperor of all Italy and indeed the world.

But if this is the reason for mentioning his southern kingdom, why should this be embodied in Salerno in particular – a rather unimportant town? Firstly, Salerno is likely to have been the city in the Sicilian kingdom most familiar to troubadours simply for its fame as a centre of medicine. More particularly, a *sirventes* (political song) dating from c. 1220 by the troubadour Aimeric de Peguilhan had celebrated the emperor as a Salernitan doctor ('metgia') who might cure the ills of the world.³⁵ Preserved in ten manuscripts, it would seem to have achieved a certain fame, since Guilhem Figueira says of Aimeric 'Pero ben fez la Metgia, / E dis del rei gran lauзор, / Sol q'el so tēgn'ad honor' ('But he composed the Song of the Physician and spoke great praise of the King, provided that he deem *that* an honor').³⁶ In the minds of troubadours and their audiences, then, Frederick may have been particularly associated with Salerno.

Is the *tenso* a piece of propaganda instigated by the Emperor? It could certainly serve as such; and yet Montferrat does not appear to have been particularly central to his concerns, and the brilliant light settling over this particular region seems a little puzzling. Were the Turin troubadour and his companion speculatively praising a potential patron in the hope of personal reward? They may have a somewhat different agenda. The spotlight falling on Montferrat, in a blaze of outwardly-radiating joy, the evocation of the Marquis's lack of deceit when his past conduct to the emperor had been far from unequivocal, with the immediate sequitur of great rewards (45), suggest rather a placatory, if not ingratiating, tactic. I suggest that this piece was composed in February 1238 (as Schultz-Gora originally thought), very possibly at Boniface's behest, at the moment when Frederick was about to receive or had just received the marquis's submission and when the issue of rewards and punishments may have still hung in the balance: rewards for troubadours, no doubt, but rewards and punishments for the allies of this most wavering of subjects. Boniface was soon, in that same year, to switch his

allegiance back to the pope, and in 1245 the troubadour Lanfranc Cigala was to launch a bitter invective against this *fihs o fraire de ven* ('son or brother of wind') for yet again renewing homage to the emperor.³⁷

Frederick himself possessed a powerful propaganda machine, well adapted to the 'expression solennelle du pouvoir politique'.³⁸ Two years earlier in the palace of Piacenza, his most eloquent propagandist Pier della Vigna had made a speech taking as his theme 'The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined'.³⁹ Was this an inspiration to the illuminations of Joan's imperial eagle? And does Frederick's passion for divination explain the prophetic nature of the troubadour's visionary dream? Whatever the rhetoric, it seems designed to write history in the making and make history in the writing.

Notes

- 1 265.2 in A. Pillet and H. Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1933 (henceforth PC).
- 2 For the considerable recent interest in medieval propaganda and communication, spawning at least eight colloquia in Europe and Canada since 1990, see M. Aurell, *Convaincre et persuader. Communication et propagande aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Poitiers, CESC, 2007, pp. 11–48 ('Rapport introductif'), p. 16.
- 3 For further details of the project under the aegis of R. Harvey and L. Paterson, supported by the British Academy and the AHRC Resource Enhancement Scheme, see L. M. Paterson, 'L'édition des poèmes dialogués', in *Scène, évolution, sort de la langue et de la littérature d'oc: Actes du VIIe Congrès International de l'AIEO (Reggio Calabria – Messina, 7–13 juillet 2002)*, ed. R. Castano, S. Guida, and F. Latella, 2 vols, Rome, Viella, 2003, pp. 593–608. I am indebted in the preparation of this essay to John Gillingham for his helpful bibliographical suggestions, to Anna Radaelli for kindly checking in Rome bibliographical material unobtainable in the UK, to Adriana Solimena for suggesting a line of enquiry about the ship, and to my co-editor Ruth Harvey who has constantly reviewed the editing process.
- 4 See J. Boutière, *Les Poésies du troubadour Peire Bremon Ricas Novas*, Toulouse, Privat, 1930, pp. xiii–xviii.
- 5 R. Arveiller and G. Gouiran, *L'œuvre poétique de Falquet de Romans*,

- troubadour*, Aix-en-Provence, C.U.E.R.M.A., 1987, pp. 129–31;
G. Bertoni, *I trovatori d'Italia*, Rome, U. Orlandini, 1915, pp. 60–64.
- 6 S. F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 16, 23, and *passim*.
 - 7 O. Schultz-Gora, 'Das Verhältnis der provenzalischen Pastourelle zur altfranzösischen', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 8 (1884): 106–12 (p. 216); Bertoni, *Trovatori*, p. 62; 'un singolare documento poetico del tempo che, per essere contemporaneo degli avvenimenti che celebra e quindi scritto con assoluta freschezza d'impressioni, ha un pregio di verità e immediatezza che non possono avere sempre le cronache [...] nella quale l'oscurità delle allusioni e l'allegoria non impedisce di affermarne il senso complessivo', A. Bozzola, 'La politica imperiale di Bonifacio II di Monferrato e una pretese donazione di Federico II', *Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 45 (1910): 700–13 (p. 709).
 - 8 For a description see S. Santangelo, 'Il manoscritto provenzale U', *Studi Romanzi* 3 (1905): 53–74.
 - 9 V. Crescini, *Manualetto provenzale*, Verona, Fratelli Drucker, 1892, pp. 131–33; Bertoni, *Trovatori*, pp. 256–59; V. Crescini, *Manuale per l'avviamento agli studi provenzali. Introduzione grammaticale crestomazia e glossario. Terza edizione migliorata*, Milan, Ulrico Hoepli, 1926, pp. 304–6.
 - 10 Previous editors retain MS *m'espaventava*. Crescini emended to *totz lo segl'es*; Bertoni found the passage unclear and emended to *Totz lo sogni'es*, though conceded that the whole dream is not simply about the eagle, given the later presence of a ship; however he thought that 'tutto il sogno' ('the dream as a whole') could more or less mean 'la parte principale del sogno' ('the main part of the dream'). Our minor emendation restores full sense, the idea of the world being fearful according with 6. There is no need to emend the inflexion of *tot*. For full notes, see our forthcoming edition.
 - 11 Bertoni understood 'per cui ciascuno fuggiva di coloro che hanno torto o colpa verso di lui' ('on account of which everyone was fleeing from those who have done him wrong or injury'), but sense surely requires us to understand *ciascuns de totz aicels* as the subject.
 - 12 For *bandia*, compare J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976, *bannire*, 1, citing examples of *in exercitum banniti*, *in hostem bannire*, *cum armis / cavallo bannitus*.
 - 13 By *aire* we understand 'eyrie'. (E. Levy, *Petit dictionnaire provençal-français*, fifth edition, Heidelberg, Winter, 1973: *aire* = *aize*, 'lieu; lieu où on habite, demeure, résidence'.) Here 'up in the air' would

- simply be padding; in 47 other editors, accepting 'air', were obliged to emend for sense.
- 14 O. Schultz(-Gora), 'Zu den Lebensverhältnissen einiger Trobadors', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 9 (1885): 116–35, p. 216; Bozzola, 'La politica imperiale', pp. 709–10.
 - 15 'Congettura per congettura, apparirebbe più verosimile una data anteriore di dieci o dodici anni', C. De Lollis, 'Sordello di Goito', *Nuova Antologia di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 139 (1895, = 3rd series, 55), p. 421.
 - 16 'prediceva la vittoria dell'imperatore su tutti i nemici' ('Lo Schultz crede composta la tenzone nel 1238, quando, cioè, invece di fare predizioni e augurî, Nicoletto e Giovanni avrebbero potuto narrare la sconfitta toccata a' Lombardi a Cortenuova', F. Torraca, 'Federico II e la poesia provenzale', *Nuova Antologia*, 139 (1895, = 3rd series, 55), 224–54 (p. 240, and n. 2).
 - 17 O. Schultz-Gora, *Ein Sirventes von Guilhem Figueira gegen Friedrich II*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1902, p. 36.
 - 18 V. De Bartholomaeis, 'Osservazioni sulle poesie prov. relative a Federico II', *Memorie della R. Accademia delle Scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna*, cl. di scienze morali, sez. Stor.-Filos., s.1, 6 (1911–12), pp. 18 and 112, and *Poesie provenzali storiche relative all'Italia*, 2 vols, Rome, Tip. del Senato, 1931, p. 114. This date is accepted by A. Barbero, 'La corte dei marchesi di Monferrato allo specchio della poesia trobadorica: ambizioni signorili e ideologia cavalleresca fra XI e XIII secolo', *Bollettino Storico Bibliografico Subalpino* 81 (1983): 641–703 (p. 702), where he misleadingly refers to our piece as a 'canzone' or *partimen*, and the marquis of Montferrat as William VI.
 - 19 'ma poichè noi abbiamo un « venia » (v. 4), il primo significato è da preferirsi al secondo', Bertoni, *Trovatori*, p. 63.
 - 20 Bertoni, *Trovatori*, pp. 62–63.
 - 21 De Bartholomaeis, 'Osservazioni', p. 18.
 - 22 T. C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen. Immulator Mundi*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972, p. 361.
 - 23 E. Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second 1194–1250*, London, Allen Lane, 1931, pp. 406–7; G. Masson, *Frederick II of Hohenstaufen: a life*, London, Secker and Warburg, 1957, pp. 66–67; Van Cleve, *Frederick II*, p. 381; J. P. Huffman, *The Social Politics of Medieval Diplomacy. Anglo-German Relations (1066–1307)*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2000, p. 252.
 - 24 Van Cleve's unsourced claim that Gaucelm Faidit refers to this is impossible, Gaucelm's career dating 1173–1203.

- 25 Masson, *Frederick II*, p. 373.
- 26 P. Spufford, *Money and its uses in medieval Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 161.
- 27 R. Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance under Henry III*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987, pp. 98, 109, 117 and B. K. Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufen Empire, 1216–1272*, Woodbridge, Royal Historical Society / Boydell Press, 2006, p. 80.
- 28 See Huffman, *Social Politics*, pp. 10–11.
- 29 Masson, *Frederick II*, pp. 274–79.
- 30 D. Abulafia, *Frederick II. A medieval emperor*, London, Allen Lane, 1988, pp. 298–303.
- 31 Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, p. 459–60; T. Rossi and F. Gabotto, *Storia di Torino*, Turin, Baravalle e Falconieri, 1914; I, pp. 261–63; *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. XII (Rome, 1970), p. 126.
- 32 'through Lombardy in the manner of a wretched jongleur', PC 15.1, 23–24, our forthcoming edition (also *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, ed. J. Linskill, The Hague, 1964, IV).
- 33 Bertoni, *Trovatori*, p. 64, suggested this location for the 'dictation' of the piece ('ove potè essere dettata la sua tenzone con Joan d'Albusson', 'where his *tenso* with Joan d'Albusson could have been dictated').
- 34 Rossi and Gabotto, *Storia*, p. 262: 'la città aveva accolto, obbediente, un suo "vicario e capitano da Pavia in su" in persona di quel "signor Vinciguerra" a cui ivi, in tal giorno, l'abate di Pinerolo, Girardo II, presteva fedeltà per tutto il feudo che egli e i suoi predecessori tenevano dall'Imperio, e che poi il, in Asti, investiva del castello e della giurisdizione di Albugnano il prevosto di Vezzolano' ('the city, submitting, had welcomed its "vicar and captain of upper Pavia" in the person of "signor Vinciguerra" to whom the abbot of Pinerola, Girardo II, went to see that day; paid homage for all the fief that he and his predecessors held from the Empire; and then, in Asti, invested the provost of Vezzolano with the castle and jurisdiction of Albugnano').
- 35 PC 10.26, ed. De Bartholomaeis, *Poesie*, I, pp. 246–48 and *The Poems of Aimeric de Peguilhan*, ed. W. P. Shepard and F. M. Chambers, Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1950, pp. 146–49.
- 36 PC 217.1b, 8–10, ed. Shepard - Chambers, *Aimeric de Peguilhan*, p. 94. Aimeric's lines include *C'un bon metge nos a Dieus sai trames / devas Salern, savi e ben apres* ('for God has sent to us here, from Salerno, a good physician'; 11–12). In this case *devas* (= *devers*) is associated with movement from south to north. The fact remains that the

preposition in medieval Occitan can work both ways. The presence of the phrase in our piece may be explained simply by it having stuck in the mind of later troubadours.

- 37 PC 282.6, ed. Bertoni, *Trovatori*, XLIV and F. Branciforti, *Il Canzoniere di Lanfranco Cigala*, Florence, L. S. Olschki, 1954, XXI; for the dating of this *sirventes*, see Schultz-Gora, *Ein sirventes*, 1902, pp. 36–37 and Branciforti, *Canzoniere*, pp. 34–37.
- 38 Aurell, p. 38 (?) and note 96. Professor Aurell kindly provided me with a pre-publication version of his introduction, whose pagination may change.
- 39 Isaiah 9:2; see A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Vie et correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne*, Paris, Henri Plon, 1865, pp. 24–25.